The Timing of Parental Divorce on Offspring Gender Attitudes and Behavior

by

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ABSTRACT

The outcomes of parental divorce on offspring has been extensively examined in previous research. How parental divorce predicts gender attitudes and behaviors in offspring, however, is less studied. More specifically, research suggesting when the divorce occurs on young adult offspring attitudes and behaviors has not be reviewed to my knowledge in previous literature. Several instruments were used in the current paper to address how gender-typed attitudes and behaviors are predicted by parental divorce occurring between the age groups of birth-6, 7-12, or 13 and older in relation to individuals from intact families. Participants were 202 individuals, where 75 experienced a parental divorce or separation sometime in their life. Gender attitudes were assessed through the Pacific Attitudes Toward Gender Scale, Attitudes Toward Divorce Scale, Attitudes Toward Marriage Scale, and a scale created for this study on dating expectations. Gender behavior was assessed through scales created for this study: current occupation or major, number of romantic relationships, number of friends with benefits, number of one night stands, safe sex use, and future plans on marrying or having children. The Personal Attributes Questionnaire was also used to determine participants' self-report of their masculinity or femininity. The results suggest parental divorce occurring between 7 and 12 years predicted more egalitarian gender attitudes compared to other groups. Gender attitudes also partially mediated the relationship between the timing of divorce and gender behavior in an exploratory analysis, although this was only significant for men. Finally, it was found that men whose parents divorced tend to report less safe sex, whereas women from divorced families tend to report more one night stand relationships than those from intact families. The data were partially supported by

previous research of timing, where those whose parents divorced tend to show more egalitarian gender attitudes and behaviors.

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Introduction

With divorce statistics rising, researchers have increasingly examined the outcomes of divorce, specifically the effects of parental divorce on children. Depending on the child's age at the time of divorce, children might not have adequate resources and skills to adjust to family conflict and separation. Some children perceive their parents' separation as a traumatic experience from which it is difficult to recover, whereas others are not as affected by the event. In terms of gender differences, boys and girls might be affected by parental divorce differently. Additionally, certain cultures might perceive divorce as negative or beneficial; thus, children in various ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural groups might show different outcomes. On the other hand, divorce might simply affect each child differently by how they appraise the situation. These reasons are why researchers have a curiosity regarding parental divorce and their associated outcomes.

Similarly, the formation and identification of gender has been heavily studied in the past few decades, with an emphasis on the formation of gender knowledge around 18-21 months old (Zosuls, Ruble, Tamis-LeMonda, Shrout, Bornstein, & Greulich, 2009). As with parental divorce, gender identification varies by sex and culture. However, there is limited research on the effects of divorce on gender identification, specifically the timing of parental divorce on young adults' gender attitudes. The current thesis reviews the prior literature on the outcomes of divorce, the effect of the timing of divorce on outcomes, and formation of gender attitudes and behaviors. Finally, I conducted a thesis study combining these areas of study to examine how the timing of parental divorce affects gender identification.

Outcomes of Parental Divorce

Prior research has found evidence suggesting there are negative consequences that arise from parental divorce. These outcomes include impaired psychological well-being, self-esteem issues, behavioral problems, poor academic achievement, increased strain with parents, and substance use (Doherty & Needle, 1991; Japel, Tremblay, Viatro, & Boulerice, 1999). Emerging adults (i.e., 18-30 years old) who have experienced parental divorce tend to show more negative affect (Yárnoz-Yaben & Garmendia, 2016). Subsequently, negative affect is related to lower satisfaction with life among participants who experienced parental divorce. Huurre, Junkkari, and Aro (2006) observed the long-term effects of parental divorce in participants from 16 to 32 years old. They found that those from divorced families had lower education, higher rates of unemployment, and were found to smoke and consume alcohol more than participants from non-divorced families. Parental divorce was also related to less social support and less satisfaction with socializing and financial assistance (Huurre et al., 2006). Evidence suggests parental divorce can also correlate with poorer psychological health (Lindstrom & Rosvall, 2016). One study found both men and women who experienced parental divorce had more child and adolescent psychiatric instances compared to participants who did not experience parental divorce (Angarne-Lindberg & Wadsby, 2010). Of these diagnoses, the most frequently reported was mood disorders. Relatedly, emotional issues such as depression and anxiety have been seen in children of divorce, which might explain the high degree of mood disorders among this population. Children of divorce also had more relational difficulties between family members, suggesting psychiatric visits might be caused by divorce-related issues in the sample (Angarne-Lindberg & Wadsby, 2010).

Following parental divorce, a lack of financial and emotional stability becomes pronounced, which could have a direct impact on the child's adjustment (Wadsby, Priebe, & Svedin, 2014). Families go from dual-parent (and typically dual-earner) homes to single-parent homes, which often lack financial provisions limiting a parent's (especially mothers') ability to provide for children at the same level prior to the separation/divorce. In relation, one study found that parental income was associated with poor adjustment in divorced children (Leon, 2003). Children may notice this reduction in financial support and the adjustment to the economic change might be difficult for them as they can no longer do the activities they did before the divorce. If the primary caregiver is worried about finances or other stressors that stem from a single-parent home, they might become emotionally unavailable, thus hurting the child's development of their own emotions (Mackay, 2005). Relatedly, diminished interactions with one parent, even if the child still spends time with the non-resident parent, changes the emotional availability and stability in the home. Thus, it is important, especially during the initial parental separation, that children receive adequate social support which typically come from extended family members when the parent or parents are preoccupied with the divorce. This support can aid in normal development and emotional stability that children need to function.

Children also suffer academically from parental divorce. One study found setbacks in math test scores among children during the time of divorce and the years following divorce (Kim, 2011). One study of seventh and ninth grade students found a significant relationship between parental separation and poorer self-reported school grades (Smith, 1997). Explanations for the academic decline during divorce is that children from families with conflict might demonstrate a lack of interest in grades or

might have a harder time processing new information (Smith, 1997). Parents also may play a role in the child's school performance; as they become preoccupied with the separation (e.g., finding financial stability, figuring out logistics of the divorce, emotional distress), it becomes difficult for them to focus on their child's academic success.

Parental divorce can also have long-term negative interpersonal consequences as children and adolescents move into adulthood. Kim (2011) examined children from Kindergarten through 8th grade and found that children in the midst of a parental divorce have worse interpersonal skills and more internalizing behavior. Adverse effects can also arise between the parent and adult-child even years after the separation (Bulcroft & Bulcroft, 1991). There are links between parental divorce and the child's relationship with either parent, although research suggests the father-child relationship has the highest risk for dissolution due to the frequency of mother-headed homes post-divorce (Schwartz & Finley, 2006). Living with both parents at some point following divorce can generate positive outcomes for the child. Schwartz and Finley (2006) found that college students who resided with their fathers at some point following divorce rated their fathers significantly more favorably compared to those who did not live with their fathers. Additionally, more time living with their father correlated with retrospective reports of nurturance and involvement from their father (Schwartz & Finley, 2006).

Some have suggested that children of divorce, primarily those who experienced parental divorce at a very young age, might have disruptions with forming secure attachments (Leon, 2003). Attachment theory relates to the different types of attachments children form with their primary caregiver(s), specifically secure or insecure attachments. The former results from an environment where the child has a secure foundation and can

rely on the caregiver for comfort, whereas the latter cannot rely on the caregiver for comfort and this can result in negative relational outcomes later in life. Theoretically, children who experience repeated separations from one or both parents during and following the divorce may develop 'disorganized attachment', which disrupts the security of the parent-child relationship (Leon, 2003). Disorganized attachment is best defined as a lack of a stable attachment style (i.e., secure, insecure, or avoidant) which if serious enough could lead to psychopathologies. Parental conflict could disrupt the child's development of a secure attachment. Research suggests children who experience high interparental conflict might lead to a decrease in a secure attachment and present signs of disorganized attachment including moments of freezing into a "dazed" look, curling into the fetal position, and even sudden changes in emotions (Anaya, 2015; Howes & Markman, 1989). Consequences from this type of attachment include an inability to form healthy mental representations children form about relationships, including perceptions about the self and others. In other words, children with attachment issues might not relate to people the same way securely attached children do, potentially affecting their relationships later into adulthood (Anaya, 2015). As suggested by the aforementioned studies, experiencing parental divorce, specifically high parental conflict, may have a lasting impact on children's mental representations in how they view themselves and their relationships with others.

Gender Differences in Parental Divorce Outcomes

Gender differences in the effects of parental divorce have been mixed in previous research. Some studies suggest girls have more adjustment problems than boys, while others suggest boys present more issues in adjustment (Japel, Tremblay, Vitaro, &

Boulerice, 1999; Kalter, 1987; Zaslow, 1988). Generally, though, the literature suggests girls might be more resilient to marital separation than boys (Japel et al., 1999; Zaslow, 1988), because they are less exposed to marital conflict, experience less inconsistency with limit setting (i.e., boundaries, curfew, punishments), and receive more social support than boys during the marital dissolution (Kalter, 1987). Additionally, fathers play a large role in children's development, especially boys' development (Kalter, 1987); thus, less exposure to the biological father might have a more deleterious effect on boys than girls.

Researchers have also looked at the gender differences in the effect of parental divorce on externalizing and internalizing behavioral problems. Externalizing behaviors include bullying, fighting, irritability, lying, blaming others, and disobedience. On the other hand, internalizing behaviors include fearfulness, crying, unsociability, worry, distress, and staring into space (Japel et al., 1999). Malone and colleagues (2004) studied children's externalizing behavior from Kindergarten through 9th grade between those whose parents divorced during the study and those who remained married. Boys showed more externalizing behavior problems in the year their parents divorced as well as subsequent years. Girls from divorced households, on the other hand, showed no difference in behavioral problems compared to girls from intact households. In relation, Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1985) found boys tend to display more externalizing behaviors whereas girls tend to show more internalizing behaviors. Another study similarly found adolescent boys from separated families compared to intact families exhibit more behavioral problems, specifically substance use, while girls again did not exhibit any substantial difference between intact and divorced families (Doherty & Needle, 1991). However, Japel et al. (1999) found that 6 to 9-year-old girls exhibited

more externalizing and internalizing behavior problems when their parents divorced from birth to two years compared to girls whose parents remained married. Although the previous study did not examine behavior problems in boys, these results were consistent amongst both mother and teacher reports of behavior, as well as controlling for various maternal characteristics (e.g., education level, age at the birth of the child, and age at the birth of first child). Another recent study also found evidence that girls from divorced homes were at higher risk for smoking and alcohol use than boys (Kristjansson, Sigfusdottir, Allegrante, & Helgason, 2009). Additionally, Zaslow (1989) concluded from a literature review that girls in their father's custody or living with a stepfather post-divorce show more negative outcomes than boys living with fathers. These findings suggest observing the gender of the major custodial parent may be an important factor on child outcomes.

Moreover research suggests women show stronger effects of interpersonal and psychological issues. In one study, adult women from divorced families reported significantly higher psychosomatic symptoms relating to stress, more depressive symptoms, and minor psychiatric disturbances compared to both men and women from intact families (Huurre et al., 2006). Women also displayed poorer general health, fewer very important friends, and more interpersonal problems than men. Similarly, women showed the highest levels of negative affect and were more likely to be asked to carry messages between parents (Yárnoz-Yaben & Garmendia, 2016).

To conclude, the literature on the effects of parental divorce on offspring has been quite varied. Children of divorced families tend to exhibit lower academic achievement, more behavioral problems, lower psychological well-being, and more difficulties in

future relationships. Adolescents and adults from separated families also report more substance use than those from intact families. With respect to gender differences, the literature is mixed; some studies suggest boys show worse adjustment and more behavioral problems than girls. But, among adults, women appear to exhibit less psychological well-being than men. One reason for the varying results of these studies may be related to the age of participants, time since the divorce, and methodological limitations of the prior research. For the present thesis, I will focus on one specific issue – the timing of divorce in a child's life.

Timing of Divorce

An important factor determining the outcome of parental divorce on children is when the divorce or separation occurred during their childhood. Evidence, although mixed, shows there are differences in the child's adjustment based on whether their parents divorced when they were in their early childhood, middle childhood, or adolescence (e.g., Bulcroft & Bulcroft, 1991; Lindstrom & Rosvall, 2016; and Palosaari & Aro, 1994). Several studies have looked at the timing of divorce on children's psychological well-being, though the studies are inconsistent with their age grouping methods (e.g., the age range and number of age groups), their study designs, and their outcomes. Chun, Jang, Choi, Shin, and Park (2016) examined the long-term effects of the timing of parental divorce by grouping participants into two groups depending on when their parents separated: before the age of 10 ('middle childhood) and between 10 and 17 years-old ('adolescent period'). Between the 'early childhood' and 'adolescent period' groups, participants who experienced parental divorce in 'early childhood' showed significantly higher depressive symptomatology scores. Researchers suggest children

who experience divorce prior to 10 years of age do not understand the causes and consequences of divorce (Lansford, 2001). The effects of divorce might be more salient during this important developmental period, thus explaining parental divorce's strong impact on academic achievement, identity development, and romantic relationship development. Chun and colleagues (2016) also suggested children during this period experience less intimacy and interaction with both parents, affecting their personal relationships and depressive symptoms later in life. However, it is important to note the previously mentioned study grouped parental divorce into two large groups, limiting the ability of the study to determine in a more nuanced way the specific time period most detrimental to children's well-being.

Another study observed similar effects in slightly older children in a population-based longitudinal study, surveying participants around 16 years of age and again at 22 years of age (Palosaari & Aro, 1994). For this study, the timing of parental divorce was categorized into three groups: under 7 years old (before school age), 7-12 years old (latency), and 13-16 years old (adolescence). Depression was significantly more prevalent among men who experienced parental divorce in the latency period (7-12 years) than those who experienced parental divorce before school age or during adolescence. Interestingly, there were no differences in timing of parental divorce and depression among women. Palosaari and Aro (1994) suggested several factors could explain their results including the impact of self-esteem which typically develops during this time and deficiencies in social skills which impair later interpersonal relationships, which are related to depression. Additionally, longer exposure to parental discord and inadequate

coping skills might explain the negative outcomes on depression and well-being (Palosaari & Aro, 1994).

Yet another study categorized the timing of parental divorce into four groups: 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, and 15-18 years (Lindstrom & Rosvall, 2016). They found that parental separation or divorce may negatively impact psychological health, specifically when it was experienced between 0-4 years. When stratifying these analyses by gender, men reported poorer psychological health compared to men who did not experience a parental divorce only during the 0-4-year period; however, women reported poorer psychological health in three of the four timing groups: 0-4, 10-14, and 15-18. These results are consistent with other research showing girls have poorer psychological health than boys, despite the timing of parental divorce (Japel et al., 1999).

The timing of parental divorce can also predict academic achievement and behavioral problems in children and adolescents, especially in the early aftermath of divorce. As previously stated, Malone and colleagues (2004) found boys had more externalizing behavior problems after divorce, specifically when parental divorce occurred both in elementary school and middle school. However, behavioral problems among boys in the elementary school group persisted for years following divorce while those in middle school group decreased the year after divorce. On the other hand, another study found that girls who experienced parental divorce between birth to two years exhibited more behavioral problems compared to girls from intact families (Japel et al., 1999).

The parent-child relationship is also affected based on the timing of parental divorce, specifically experiencing parental divorce early in a child's life can be more

harmful to the relationship (Bulcroft & Bulcroft, 1991; Schwartz & Finley, 2006). Pan (2014) used secondary data analysis to examine timing of parental divorce and adult relationship outcomes among 20-year-old participants. Those who experienced parental divorce after the age of 12 reported poorer relationships with both parents. Another study found that fathers who divorced early in the family life cycle (e.g., when the child was young) tended to live further away from, visit less with, and have fewer connections via telephone or mail with their adult children (Bulcroft & Bulcroft, 1991), suggesting that parental divorce at an early age may have a negative impact for the paternal-child relationship.[1]

As alluded to earlier, the timing of parental divorce has also been shown to be related to adult-child romantic and sexual behaviors and relationships. Quinlan (2003) found when parental divorce occurred between birth through six years, women were at a higher risk for early menarche, early first sexual intercourse, and greater risk for early pregnancy. In fact, risk of early reproductive development decreased the longer women lived with both parents. Quinlan (2003) also found that women whose parents separated between birth to five years had a shorter duration of their own first marriage. Only one result in Quinlan's study pointed to parental divorce during adolescence being related to sexual behaviors in adulthood: those whose parents divorced when they were in the 12-17 age group reported a greater number of sexual partners. However, another more recent study found an opposite result; Pan (2014) found parental divorce occurring at or before the age of 12 was correlated with more romantic partners in adulthood. Finally, in a 30-

[1] It is important to note that living apart does not necessarily mean negative impact on the parental relationship. For some family situations, living away from the parent might be beneficial to the child.

year longitudinal study, Fergusson et al. (2014) found that the greater the number of childhood parental separations or divorces, the greater the "number of cohabitating partners, negative partner relations, partner adjustment/conduct programs, and perpetration of interpartner violence" in adulthood (p. 355).

The effect of timing of parental divorce on child outcomes indicates mixed results. In general, early and middle childhood as well as latency shows more depressive symptoms, lower psychological health, more behavioral problems, increased likelihood of early menarche and early onset of sexual behaviors for women, and increased number of sexual partners. These ages ranged from birth to around 12-years-old when parental divorce occurred, suggesting the prepubescent period might correlate with more negative outcomes of divorce, compared to children post-puberty. After researchers narrow the age ranges of parental divorce occurrence, the results become less coherent. Further research is needed to explain the discrepancies among the specific timing of parental divorce on childhood outcomes.

Parental Divorce on Gender Attitudes and Identification

One outcome of parental divorce that may be particularly impacted by timing at which it occurs is the formation of gender attitudes and identification. Studies looking at gender identification observe the gender attitudes of an individual, including their beliefs about marriage, divorce, and children. One study found participants whose parents divorced at or before the age of 12 had lower expectations for marriage (Pan, 2014). Women from divorced or separated families have less positive attitudes toward marriage and more pro-divorce attitudes than women from intact families (Barber & Eccles, 1992). Kapinus (2004) also found that for daughters, parental separation was related to pro-

divorce attitudes, even after controlling for parents' divorce attitudes. Additionally, being less close to one's father post-divorce and greater post-divorce conflict correlated with greater pro-divorce attitudes for daughters.

In accordance with the notion that children from divorced homes tend to hold flexible gender role schemata and view the world more egalitarian (Amato & Booth, 1991), we can also look at the effect from the opposite perspective – the role of gender attitudes on the formation and dissolution of families. Egalitarian women are *more* likely to separate than traditional women; but, egalitarian men are *less* likely to separate than traditional men (Kaufman, 2000). Furthermore, men with egalitarian attitudes are twice as likely to cohabit, more likely to marry, and less likely to divorce than traditional men (Kaufman, 2000). These results are surprising for men in that their gender attitudes tended to not correlate with other classic viewpoints of egalitarianism: men's gender attitudes are not related to pro-divorce attitudes, likelihood of marrying or having children. But, women's gender attitudes corresponded with each of these outcomes. Egalitarian women are more likely to separate than traditional women and less likely to intend to have a child (Kaufman, 2000). Tying these attitudes back with parental divorce, women who come from divorced homes appear to have more egalitarian attitudes, which in turn relates to their expectations to marry and have children as adults (Barber & Eccles, 1992).

Focusing specifically on gender identification, development of one's identification, specifically one's gender identification, begins at a young age. These gender ideologies begin to form around 3-years-old and continue to develop into adolescence and adulthood (Fogel, 2015). Thus, parental divorce during the development

of gender identification could negatively impact the child and that impact could continue to later in life. Research suggests that living in a single-parent home correlates with more nontraditional gender attitudes than in dual-parent homes, due to an increase in non-gender-typed chores, lack of paternal influence (for mother-headed homes), and exposure to parental conflict. Boys with fathers in the home possess more stereotypically traditional gender role attitudes, specifically for preschool-aged boys, compared to boys with father-absent homes (as cited in Barber & Eccles, 1992). These findings suggest the event of divorce might not be the influencing factor, but being raised in a single-parent home might predict stronger outcomes in children.

In terms of gender identification specifically, a review of the literature on parental divorce and college student development found that college men who reported low parental care were more likely to have feminine gender identification (Lopez, 1987), suggesting there might be a relationship between parental bonding and gender identification. In turn, a more recent study found that adolescents from intact families showed more androgynous framing (e.g., expressing both masculine and feminine characteristics), whereas those from single-parent families displayed more sex-typed gender role schematization (Slavkin, 2001). Conversely, other research has found that men from divorced families reported more masculine gender identification. Still another study (Kiecolt & Acock, 1988) found that both boys and girls from father-absent homes tended to be more androgynous in their gender attitudes, suggesting mothers who are the head of the household may be less traditional in their gender attitudes and pass this on to their children.

Gender Identification

But, at what age would children's gender identification be most influenced by parental divorce? Children begin to form and build ideas surrounding gender before the age of two (Zosuls et al., 2009). At this age, children can identify who is a boy and who is a girl, and they will even engage in gender-typed play. However, they do not understand that other children will grow up to become a man or a woman, and children up until the age of 3 believe that changing someone's appearance will change their gender (Fogel, 2015).

There are different perspectives researchers used to identify children's acquisition of gender labeling and gender attitudes. The *self-socialization perspective* emphasizes constructs from gender schema, cognitive-developmental, and social categorization theories (as cited in Zosuls et al., 2009). Specifically, the gender schema theory emphasizes the, "readiness to process information on the basis of the sex-linked associations that constitute the gender schema" (Bem, 1981). Children being to learn about gender-typed associations in the world and relate those attributes to their individual self. Self-concept and self-esteem derive from the gender schema theory in that children compare themselves to others and their sex-typed schemas, which lead to self-typed behaviors that reinforces gender-based differentiation (Bem, 1981). Children also understand there are two categories for gender, in which they belong to one and not the other. On the other hand, *social learning theory* suggests children form their gender knowledge through the act of learning from people who model gender. Theorists suggest gender-typed behaviors are present early in a child's life; after the age of two, children begin to openly acknowledge gender categories (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Because children begin to form their gender attitudes before the age of five, divorce occurring during the early childhood phase might consequentially produce negative effects on their perceptions of gender. For example, if one parent leaves the home, thus spending limited time with the child, minimal exposure to a parent could influence the child's gender-related identification. In relation, children who have a knowledge of traditional gender roles and attitudes exhibit stronger gender stereotypes and these stereotypes can persist into later childhood and into adulthood (Banse, Gawrokski, Rebetez, Gutt, & Morton, 2010). Additional research is needed to see whether divorce and single-parent homes during the early childhood phase actually influences how children form their gender schemas and identification.

Parental Influence on Gender Identification

As suggested above, parents are a driving force in children forming their gender knowledge, and parent gender and *parental gender attitudes* may be key predictors. Maternal influence is important in developing children's gender identities, especially from a young age (Cunningham, 2016), but what role does the father play? Egalitarian values have an effect on fathers in the home, where families with more egalitarian ideals show more father involvement with household tasks (Weisner, Garnier, & Loucky, 1994). Relatedly, egalitarian fathers interact with their children 4 times more often than fathers in traditional homes, and these children have less gender-typed knowledge and overall less traditional gender beliefs (Sutfin, Fulcher, Bowles, & Patterson, 2008). On the other hand, fathers who hold traditional gender attitudes and who engage in more "masculine-typed" behaviors (i.e., washing their car) than "feminine-typed" behaviors

(i.e., laundry) and have children who begin gender labeling at an early age (Fagot & Leinbach, 1989).

However, other studies have shown that paternal influence might not have as strong as an impact on the child's gender attitudes compared to maternal influences. As women tend be more egalitarian than men (Endendijk et al., 2013; Friedman, Leaper, and Bigler., 2007), children might take on egalitarian attitudes when raised by their mothers compared to their fathers. Stevens, Golomok, Beveridge, and the ALSPAC Study Team (2002) examined whether children who were raised without a father exhibited less gender-typed attitudes and stereotypes. Interestingly, there was no difference in a child's gender-typed attitudes when their father was absent compared to in-home fathers (Stevens et al., 2002). The authors suggest various explanations for their findings. One is the idea that other men in the child's life may provide a masculine model with which to identify. Another idea is that a mother's gender attitudes may be the primary route through which a child forms insights about gender. However one limitation to the aforementioned study was the use of maternal self-reports which might have caused a reporting bias where their perceptions about their child's gender formation is normal (Stevens et al., 2002).

Previous research has observed traditional versus egalitarian attitudes in parents and whether they directly impact the child's gender attitudes. Parents who hold traditional attitudes may correlate with their child holding stricter, gender-congruent attitudes than children raised by egalitarian parents. Fagot, Leinbach, and O'Boyle (1992) found that mothers whose 2-to-3-year-olds understood gender labels were more likely to endorse traditional attitudes toward women and sex roles in the family. However, they

did not look at the father's influence. These mothers also reinforced the use of gender-typed toys, suggesting that parental gender role attitudes, especially mother's gender attitudes, may be mirrored by their children.

A meta-analysis by Tenenbaum and Leaper (2002) found that parents with traditional gender attitudes were more likely to have children with gender-typed cognitions about themselves and others. Interestingly, these attitudes were predominately related to ideals about others and society rather than self-gender attitudes. Researchers suggest that the parents' gender schemas about the world might be easily "picked up" by the child, and thus more salient for the child to form their own gender schemas (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). Egalitarian gender attitudes, on the other hand, have been associated with more flexible cognitions about gender. One study found that mothers who work outside the home hold more egalitarian attitudes and as a result their children have more flexible ideologies about gender (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). In terms of divorce, parents and children from egalitarian homes might be more accepting of the divorce compared to traditional families, although more research needs to be conducted to support this assertion.

One study compared children of lesbian and heterosexual parents and found that children's stereotypes regarding occupational choices were based on the parent's division of household labor rather than the parents' gender identities (Fulcher, Sutfin, & Patterson, 2001). In other words, children deciphered various occupational roles (e.g., nurses are women) based on whether their mother is the homemaker rather than the breadwinner. Parental gender attitudes did not predict the child's responses. Similarly, children from nonconventional families (i.e., single mothers, unmarried parents, and group living

situations) displayed less stereotyping of masculine-typed objects than conventional families (i.e., married parents), and gender stereotyping was particularly less prominent for girls (Weisner et al., 1994).

Another study compared children from lesbian households to children from heterosexual households and found although children in lesbian families had less gender stereotyping and were less traditional than in heterosexual families (Sutfin et al., 2008), the child's physical environment (i.e., bedroom theme, toys, etc.) reflected the child's gender, regardless of parent sexual orientation. Egalitarian parents (lesbian or heterosexual) with a boy tended to buy gender-congruent toys and dark-colored bedroom sets, suggesting a child's gender might be a primary determinant of gender role ideologies as opposed to the parents' gender or gender role attitudes. Children in gender-congruent bedrooms wake up and go to sleep in an environment where they are constantly reminded of their gender and gender roles typically associated with their gender. These results suggest the possibility that the child's gender might be the primary driver of gender identification, where parents with boys hold stronger gender restrictions, regardless of parent gender or parental gender attitudes. The findings of this research might also suggest that parental influence might not have as strong of an impact in that children will develop their own gender roles, with peers, teachers, and the media playing a larger role in their interpretation of gender. Moreover, the way in which gender roles are represented in language, both inside and outside of the home, may be a primary channel through which children also may learn gender roles.

Gender through Communication

In terms of communication, children begin to form and overextend words around the age of two; for example, the overuse of "mommy" and "daddy". Children have been known to overgeneralize these terms to other men and women in their life, suggesting that children can identify who is a "mommy" and who is a "daddy" in terms of gender categories (Zosuls et al., 2009). Interestingly, children who are more linguistically advanced tend to be more stereotypic in their gender-role concepts (Fogel, 2015). Parents' use of gender-typed language might instill different ideals about gender. Endendijk et al. (2014) explored stereotypes through communication while parents read *The Gender Stereotypes Picture Book* to their children. The book displays gender-neutral children playing different activities that the parent and/or the child make comments about. For example, one picture shows two gender-neutral children (e.g., no identifying clothing or physical attributes) playing with water guns, to which the parent might confirm the stereotype saying, "*boys* playing with water guns". Researchers found that both fathers and mothers used gender labels, conveying the idea that certain activities are appropriate for only boys or girls. Both parents typically used the congruent gender that correlated with the activities presented in the book (e.g., referring to a gender-neutral child playing with a water gun as a boy). Even though both parents engaged in this behavior, fathers exhibited more comments confirming gender stereotypes. For example, when fathers had two boys, they were more inclined to emphasize appropriate male behavior and were more accepting of negative behavior in the stories. Consistent with this finding, Friedman et al., (2007) found mothers held more egalitarian gender schemas

compared to fathers and tolerated more nontraditional behavior while reading a book with both gender-typed and cross-gender behaviors.

In another study by Endendijk and colleagues (2013), implicit and explicit gender stereotypes were observed among mothers and fathers and their sons and daughters. *Implicit stereotypes* are learned associations through experiences about a certain group that affect individuals without their awareness. For example, an individual might view girls as being more vulnerable or sensitive than boys based on prior experiences with girls. On the other hand, *explicit stereotypes* are controllable perceptions of a certain group that are openly expressed; for example, an individual who buys their nephew a football because they assume that all boys like to play sports. Mothers were found to have stronger implicit stereotypes, whereas fathers typically had stronger explicit stereotypes. There was one exception; fathers with same-gendered children exhibited more implicit stereotypes than fathers with mixed-gender children. With respect to the children, daughters' implicit gender stereotypes were directly predicted by their mothers' implicit gender stereotypes. Endendijk et al. (2013) did not find any differences among sons' implicit stereotypes.

Toy play is an important part of communication and in the formation of gender attitudes. By the second year of a child's life, toys become more gender-typed and parents tend to have strong emotional responses to the toys children choose to play with. In other words, parents might not explicitly say to their son who wants to play with a doll that they are only for girls; instead, they might frown and suggest a different toy which is more gender-typed. Consistent with the idea that girls hold more nontraditional gender attitudes than boys (Fogel, 2015), girls tend to play with more "boy" toys than the other

way around. Parents may be more accepting of girls playing with non-gender-typed toys, because they hold firmer gender-role expectations for boys. Moreover, early onset of gender-typed toy play and gender labeling may be predicted by the father's personality traits rather than of the mother (Fogel, 2015).

Children form their gender ideologies through many outlets; but, as shown above, one primary influential channel is parents. Adults' gender attitudes are typically firm and unchanging, thus when raising children these beliefs become apparent to the child. Parent beliefs about gender can be seen through stereotypes, language, emotional responses, gender-typed environments, etc. When children begin to speak and organize the world around them, gender becomes something they can place into either "boy" or "girl" schemas. It is also at this age that parents are giving their child gender-congruent haircuts, clothing, and toys. These cues are picked up by the child, thus beginning rigid gender-role attitudes formation at a young age, which remain salient until adolescence. Research has supported the notion that women have more egalitarian attitudes about themselves and society, which can transmit to the child's formation of gender attitudes, specifically in mother-headed single families. Interestingly, although parent gender might have an impact on the child's gender attitudes, it was found that even being raised in a more egalitarian home children were still treated in a gender-congruent manner, specifically parents with boys. Yet, one gap in this research is the lack of attention to intact versus divorced families, which could have a different impact on child's gender formation and identification. Further lacking is research on gender identification and formation and timing of parental divorce. To my knowledge, there are no published

studies examining whether children whose parents divorced when they were younger versus older show a difference in their gender identification and attitudes.

Proposed Thesis Study

Parental divorce occurs in about half of United States households and often is correlated with many negative outcomes for the children involved (Amato, 2000). Parental divorce has been shown to predict psychological well-being, behavioral problems, poorer academic performance, and substance use. Additionally, the strain of parental conflict and separation can cause interpersonal difficulties with parents and romantic relationships in adulthood. Even so, previous research has found positive outcomes from parental divorce, including the child being more compassionate, greater tolerance for opposing viewpoints, and enjoyment in spending time with their mother (Halligan, Chang, & Knox, 2014).

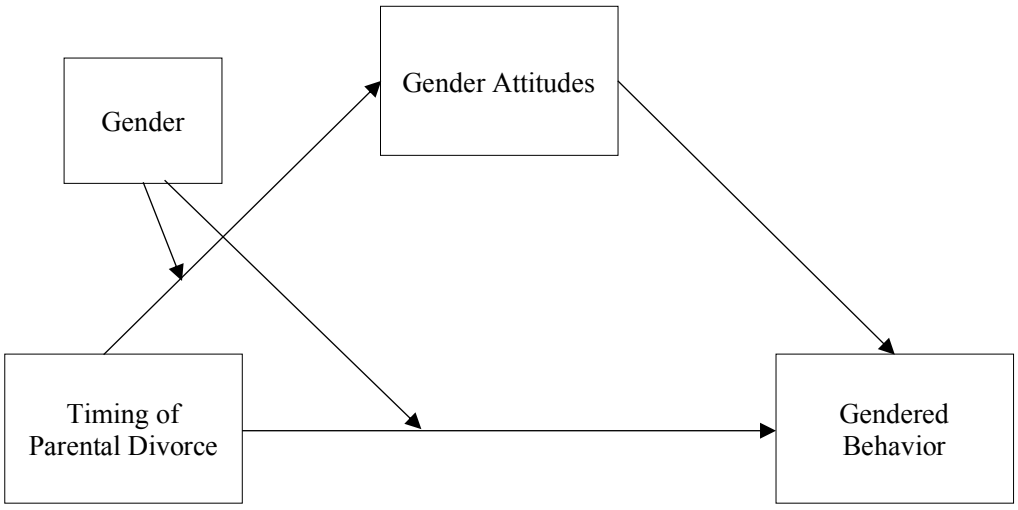
The timing of divorce also appears to play a role in these outcomes, although the research findings have been varied. Most of the research suggests parental divorce during early childhood causes the most harm to the child in terms of their psychological well-being, behavioral problems, academic achievement, and relational effects, including women's sexual reproduction and sexual behaviors. Research also suggests parental divorce can predict a child's identity formation, including gender identification. Parental divorce during specific periods of childhood might contribute to the child's formation of their gender identification, as gender attitudes begin to form early in children.

Combining the research on the outcomes of parental divorce, the timing of parental divorce, and gender identification, the proposed thesis will examine how parental divorce predicts gender identification in young adult offspring. Specifically, I

will examine when parental divorce occurs at three different time points (birth-6 years, 7-12 years, and 13 years and up) and how it influences gender attitudes among college students. Specifically, gender attitudes might relate to participants' gendered behavior, including enrollment in a non-gender-stereotypical major, occupational expectations, sexual behaviors, and pro-divorce attitudes. For this thesis, I am proposing four specific aims. The first aim is to determine whether participants from intact families differ from divorced families on their gendered behavior, such that participants from divorced families will show more egalitarian attitudes and nontraditional behavior. The second aim is to examine the role of timing of divorce on gender attitudes and behaviors. Based on prior literature and gender identification theory, I hypothesize that college students who experienced parental divorce between 7-12 years will show the strongest association with nontraditional gendered behavior. The third aim is to test a mediation model in which gender attitudes explain the link between the timing of parental divorce and gender behavior (e.g., choice of non-gender-stereotypical major). Finally, for the fourth aim, I will examine whether gender moderates the mediational model (see Figure 1) – in other words, to identify whether men or women show different outcomes of parental divorce on their gender attitudes and behaviors. Based on prior literature, I hypothesize that women will show greater effects of the timing of parental divorce on gendered behavior than men.

Figure 1

Mediating effect of gender attitudes on the effect of timing of parental divorce on gendered behavior as a function of gender.



Method

Sample

Two hundred and sixty-eight English-speaking individuals ages 18 to 25 participated in the current study. Participants were eliminated from the study for being older than the age range specified or for having missing data. There were 15 participants who had at least one parent pass away and were eliminated from the study due to possible unique differences in this population. Eight participants reported having parents who were not married however not divorced and not separated, suggesting never-married parents or originally single parent(s), and were also eliminated. The final sample consisted of 202 participants. International participants were excluded from the current study based on confounding cultural differences pertaining to divorce and gender attitudes/behaviors. Participants were asked whether their parents ever separated or

divorced, or if they were still married and were grouped into two categories (still married vs. divorced/separated). The sample consisted of 92 males and 110 females, where the majority of their parents were currently married (n = 127, 63%) compared to parents who were divorced or separated (37%). Forty-seven percent of participants were Caucasian, 21% were Hispanic or Latino, 17% were Asian, 5% were African American, and 10% were either Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander or other.

Procedure

Participants completed the survey through a 30-minute online Qualtrics survey. The majority of participants were recruited through Arizona State University's online SONA system and were granted 1 credit toward their required course research credits. To achieve a closer number of male-to-female ratio, I recruited the remaining participants through a gift card raffle (for ASU students only) and Amazon Mechanical Turk. Ten participants completed the raffle and were entered into win a $50 Amazon gift card. Participants recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (n = 40) were paid $1.00 for completing the survey. The survey took on average 30 minutes to complete. By clicking 'continue' to complete the survey, participants gave their electronic consent to be part of the study. Because this was a cross-sectional anonymous survey, no personal information (e.g., names, addresses) was gathered.

Measures

Sociodemographics. Demographic questions such as gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, parent social status, current relationship status, religiosity, and year in college were asked as potential covariates. For parent social status, participants were

asked to report their perception of their parents' social class (i.e., lower, upper-lower, middle, upper-middle, or high class).

Relationship with Parents during Childhood. Another potential covariate is the relationship with parents during childhood, which was assessed through the *Parental Bonding Instrument* (PBI; Parker, Tupling, & Brown, 1979), a 25-item retrospective report measuring care and overprotection of parents during childhood from birth to 16 years. Sample items include: "*was affectionate toward me*" and "*tried to control everything I did*". Participants filled out the scale twice: once for their mother and once for their father, where four subscales were calculated of their reports of mother and father's overprotection and care. Participants rated their responses on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1= *A Lot* to 4= *Not at all*. Where appropriate, reverse worded items were recoded prior to calculating summed scores for parental warmth/care and parental overprotection/control for both the "mother" and "father" scales. Cronbach's Alpha for Mother Care, Mother Overprotect, and Dad Care showed reliable scales (α = .92, .85, and .92, respectively). The Dad Overprotect scale showed a lower reliability, but still above the acceptable threshold (α = .65).

Parental Divorce Occurrence and Timing. Participants were asked about their parents' marital status, specifically whether their parents were ever separated or divorced. As previously mentioned, participants were grouped according to their parents being 'currently married' or 'divorced/separated'. Next, for participants who reported a parental divorce or separation, the timing at which it occurred was ascertained as follows: "*How old were you when your parents divorced?*" Responses were grouped into 3 categories: birth-6 years (N = 23), 7-12 years (N = 17), and 13 and up (N = 20).

In addition, all participants were asked about parental separation (as this status can occur with or without subsequent divorce): "*Did your parents ever separate?*"; "*If yes, how many times did they separate?*"; "*How old were you at each separation?*"; "*Did the separation end in divorce?*" Questions regarding remarriage was asked in a series of questions including, "*Have your parents ever remarried?*"; "*How soon following divorce?*"; "*What age were you when your parents remarried?*"; "*Did the remarriage end in divorce?*" Participants whose parents divorced then quickly remarried (i.e., within 2 years) were included in the married group because the child did not experience the effects of a single household for very long. This short time period between marriages might buffer the negative consequences related to parental divorce, therefore quick remarriage would be more appropriate in the 'married' group. Only one participant had this occurrence.

Gender Attitudes. Current gender attitudes were assessed with two different existing measures. First, the *Personal Attributes Questionnaire* (PAQ; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974) is a 24-item self-report questionnaire assessing how feminine, masculine, or androgynous they perceive themselves between two extremes of the same characteristic. Participants rate their response on a 5-point Likert scale from one extreme of the attribute to the other. For example, participants are to select where they lie between "*not at all aggressive"* to *"very aggressive"* and *"never cries"* to *"cries very easily*". The PAQ consists of three subscales: *feminine, masculine*, and *androgynous.* According to the scoring rubric, if participants score high on both scales, they are considered androgynous; high scores on the femininity scale and low scores on the masculinity scale are considered more feminine; and, high scores on the masculinity scale and low scores

on the femininity scale are considered more masculine. Finally, low scores on both scales are considered undifferentiated. A sum score was calculated with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of masculinity and/or femininity. The PAQ Androgynous scale had a non-reliable Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .56$) and was not significantly meaningful to the study, thus was not used in subsequent analyses. The PAQ Masculinity scale and Femininity scale showed sufficient Cronbach's reliability ($\alpha = .74$ and .82, respectively).

The second measure used, the *Pacific Attitudes toward Gender Scale* (PATGS; Vaillancourt & Leaper, 1997), is a 28-item questionnaire about gender expectations (e.g., "*I believe it should be equally acceptable for men and women to cry in front of other people*"). Participants rate their agreement on a 6-point Likert scale from 1= *strongly disagree* to 6= *strongly agree*. Half of the items were reverse-worded and recoded (e.g., "*I believe it is more difficult to work for a woman than a man*"). Mean scores were calculated, with lower scores representing traditional gender beliefs and higher scores representing egalitarian gender beliefs. The PATGS is a sufficiently reliable measure as evidenced by its Cronbach's alpha of .91.

Additionally, questions regarding dating expectations were asked (e.g., *who is expected to ask someone out, who is expected to pay on a first date, who is expected to drive*, etc.). These questions were scored 1 = male's responsibility to ask out, pay, drive and 0= female's responsibility or neutral feelings about dating behaviors. The three variables were combined and created a sum score ranging from 0 = non-traditional attitudes and 3 = very traditional attitudes toward dating behaviors.

Sexual and Gendered Behavior. To assess gendered behavior, participants were asked a series of questions created for this study (see Appendix A for all study measures),

including their romantic and sexual involvement with partners during the past year (i.e., number of romantic partners, 'friends with benefits', and 'one-night stands'). Number of romantic relationships was subsequently grouped into zero, one, two, and three or more romantic relationships in the past year. Based on the range of responses for friends with benefits (FWB) and one night stands (ONS), responses were grouped into four categories; FWB included zero, 1-2, 3-4, and 5 or more and ONS included zero, 1-2, 3-5, and 6 or more during the past year. Individuals were also asked whether they were currently in a relationship, engaged, married, or divorced to assess their current relationship status. Due to the small number of participants who were currently married, engaged, or divorced (N = 33), only current relationship status was used in analyses (currently in a relationship N=112). Additionally, to determine whether participants from divorced/separated or intact homes differed on their use of safe sex practices, participants were ask the extent that they used safe sex measures (i.e., birth control, condoms). Answers ranged from 0 = never use, 1 = sometimes use, and 2 = always use to determine participant's current sexual behavior.

Current gender behavior was assessed through participants' occupation or major. If participants were currently attending college, they were asked what their current major was and their anticipated occupation. For those who were not in college, they were asked what their current occupation was. Answers were combined into one list and were coded by the author and two graduate psychology students. Occupations or majors that were viewed as traditionally masculine were coded as 1, traditionally feminine as 2, and non-traditional or neutral as zero. There was high agreement across raters (r = .90) and any disagreements were resolved with discussion. Lastly, future gender behavior was

assessed by asking participants whether they plan on marrying or plan on having children in the future. Answers ranged from conservative to liberal: 1 = definitely yes, 2 = probably yes, 3 = neutral, 4 = probably not, and 5 = definitely not. The two scales were combined and a mean score was created.

Pro-Divorce Attitudes. To assess attitudes towards divorce, participants were administered the *Attitudes toward Divorce Scale* (ATDS; Kinnard & Gerrard, 1986) and the *Attitudes toward Marriage Scale* (ATMS; Kinnard & Gerrard, 1986). Both scales are assessed on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*. The ATDS is a 12-item survey addressing participants' beliefs about divorce on a societal level (e.g., "*When people marry, they should be willing to stay together no matter what happens*"). Lower scores represented less favorable attitudes about divorce and higher scores represented more favorable attitudes about divorce. Cronbach's alpha for the ATDS suggests a reliable scale ($\alpha = .72$). The ATMS is a 14-item survey addressing participants' personal attitudes about marriage (e.g., "*How difficult would it be for you to adjust to married life?*"). Lower scores represented more favorable attitudes toward marriage and higher scores represented less favorable attitudes toward marriage. The ATMS is a reliable scale based on a Cronbach's alpha of .82 in the current sample. Reverse worded items on both measures were recoded prior to calculating mean scores, with higher scores indicating more openness toward divorce and more negative attitudes toward marriage, respectively.

Overview of Analyses

There were four specific aims I addressed in the proposed thesis. Prior to the main study analyses, I examined whether the sociodemographic variables and other potential

covariates were related to any of the major study variables using multiple linear regression. The variables that were significant and meaningful (gender, parent social status, and relationship status) were entered as covariates in subsequent analyses.

To examine the first aim, whether there was a difference between divorced and intact families on gender attitudes and behavior, I ran a one-way MANCOVA. Second, the timing of divorce on gender attitudes and behavior was also examined by running a one-way MANCOVA. Third, a mediational model using the Baron and Kenny (1986) steps was conducted to observe whether the timing of divorce on gender behavior completely or partially mediated by participants' gender attitudes. Finally, a moderated mediation was conducted to determine if gender moderated the indirect effect of gender attitudes on the timing of divorce on gender behavior. All mediation and moderation analyses were conducted using the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2012).

A series of preliminary analyses were conducted to assess whether certain demographic variables predicted outcomes and need to be controlled in the analyses. To identify potential covariates, individual linear regressions were performed where the potential covariates were entered as independent variables (i.e., age, gender, race/ethnicity, religiosity, parent social status, year in college, sexual orientation, current relationship status). In addition to gender, I controlled for parent social status and current relationship status, which were significantly and meaningfully related to study variables. Bivariate correlations were performed on the study variables to determine if there were high multicollinearities among the variables (see Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1

Bivariate Correlations of Gender Attitudes Measures

	1	2	3	4	5
1. ATDS	-				
2. ATMS	.34**	-			
3. PATGS	.26**	.07	-		
4. PAQ Masc	-.07	-.13	-.06	-	
5. PAQ Fem	-.14	-.42**	.30**	.11	-
6. Dating Expectations	-.17*	-.15*	-.39**	.11	.001

Note. *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01.

ATDS (Attitudes Toward Divorce Scale) – higher scores more pro-divorce

ATMS (Attitudes Toward Marriage Scale) – lower scores more pro-marriage

PATGS (Pacific Attitudes Toward Gender Scale) – higher scores more egalitarian

PAQ Masc (Personal Attributes Questionnaire Masculinity) – higher scores more masculine-typed

PAQ Fem (Personal Attributes Questionnaire Femininity) – higher scored more feminine-typed

Dating Expectations – higher scores more traditional expectations for dating behaviors

Table 2

Bivariate Correlations of Gender and Sexual Behavior

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Romantic Relationships	-				
2. FWB	.42**	-			
3. ONS	.27**	.65**	-		
4. Safe Sex Use	.11	.01	.10	-	
5. Occupation or major	-.05	.06	-.002	-.06	-
6. Plan on Marrying/ Having kids	-.02	.04	.02	.02	-.60

Note. ** p ≤ .01

FWB – Friends with benefits

ONS – One night stands

Table 3

Sample Demographics

	Percent	Mean	Median	SD
Gender				
Male	45.5			
Female	54.5			
Age		21.44	21.00	1.99
(18-25)				
Race/Ethnicity				
White	46.5			
Black	5.4			
Hispanic	21.3			
Asian	16.8			
Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander	1.5			
Other/Mixed race	8.4			
Year in College				
First	11.9			
Second	11.4			
Third	32.7			
Fourth	27.2			
Fifth or higher	9.9			
Not in School	6.9			
Sexual Orientation				
Heterosexual	83.7			
Homosexual	3.0			
Bisexual	7.4			
Other/ Prefer not to say	6.0			
Parent Social Status				
Lower Class	5.4			
Upper-Lower	9.9			
Middle	55.4			
Upper-Middle	26.7			
Upper Class	2.5			
Religiosity		4.6	5	3.01
(0-Not at all religious, 10-Extremely religious)				
Romantic Relationships		1.03	1.00	.73
Friends With Benefits		.54	.00	.81
One Night Stands		.41	.00	.67
Safe Sex Use				
Never Use	12.9			
Sometimes Use	21.3			
Always Use	64.9			

$N = 202$

Table 4

Gender Attitudes and Behavior Variables by Gender

	Men		Women	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
ATDS	3.81	.09	3.80	.08
ATMS	2.69	.07	2.64	.06
PATGS**	4.17	.08	4.55	.07
PAQ Masculinity*	3.62	.07	3.41	.06
PAQ Femininity**	3.78	.07	4.11	.06
Dating Expectations*	1.22	.12	0.88	.12
Marriage/ Family Expectations*	2.07	.14	1.71	.10
Romantic Relationships	1.14	.08	0.95	.07
Friends with Benefits	0.65	.09	0.46	.08
One Night Stands	0.51	.07	0.34	.06
Safe Sex Use	1.47	.08	1.57	.07
Occupation or Major*	-0.60	.08	-0.34	.07

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01. Gender was significantly different where specified.

ATDS (Attitudes Toward Divorce Scale) – higher scores more pro-divorce
ATMS (Attitudes Toward Marriage Scale) – lower scores more pro-marriage
PATGS (Pacific Attitudes Toward Gender Scale) – higher scores more egalitarian
PAQ Masc (Personal Attributes Questionnaire Masculinity) – higher scores more masculine-typed
PAQ Fem (Personal Attributes Questionnaire Femininity) – higher scored more feminine-typed
Dating Attitudes – higher scores more traditional expectations for dating behaviors

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Participants were comprised of 33% third-year students, 27% fourth-year students, 23% first and second year students, and 10% fifth-year students or higher (see Table 3 for all demographic means). About 7% of participants were not currently in school (participants recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk). The majority of participants were heterosexual (84%) from middle-class homes (55%). Participants fell on the middle of the religiosity scale (M = 4.6, SD = 3.01) on a scale from 1 to 10. The mean number of romantic relationships in the past year was about 1 (SD = 0.73). The majority of participants who reported having friends with benefits or one night stand relationships in the past year was between zero and one (friends with benefits: M = 0.54, SD = 0.81; one night stands: M = 0.41, SD = 0.67). Sixty-five percent of participants reported always using safe sex practices (e.g., birth control or condoms), 21% reported sometimes using safe sex practices, and 13% reported never using safe sex practices. Gender differences were observed for each gender attitudes and gender behavior variable (see Table 4). Compared to men, women had more egalitarian attitudes relating to gender (Men: M = 4.17; Women: M = 4.55) and dating expectations (Men: M = 1.22; Women: M = 0.88). Men reported higher masculine-typed attributes (Men: M = 3.62; Women: M =3.41) and women reported higher feminine-typed attributes (Men: M = 3.78; Women: M =4.11). Men were less likely to want to marry and have children (Men: M = 2.07; Women: M = 1.71), and reported slightly more romantic relationships (Men: M = 1.14; Women: M = 0.95) compared to women. Men also tended to have more traditional occupations or majors (Men: M = -0.60; Women: M = -0.34). Chi-square tests revealed a

significant difference for gender and number of one night stand relationships, X^2 (2, N = 202) = 6.60, p = .04, where women reported having zero, one, or two one night stands more than men, however men reported having 3-5 one night stands more than women. In relation, chi-square tests revealed a significant difference for timing of divorce and number of friends with benefits, X^2 (9, N = 202) = 19.18, p = .02, where participants from intact families reported having zero, one, or two friends with benefits more than the divorced groups.

Gender Attitudes/Behaviors on Intact versus Divorced

To answer the first hypothesis, whether individuals from divorced or separated families differed from intact families on their gender attitudes and behaviors, a one-way MANCOVA was performed. In addition to gender, parent socioeconomic status and current relationship status were controlled for in the analysis (based on preliminary analyses). The independent variable entered into the model was whether participants' parents were married or divorced/separated and the dependent variables were current gender and sexual behavior (i.e., occupation or major, safe sex use, friends with benefits, one night stands, and romantic relationships), dating expectations, plans to marry or have kids, attitudes toward divorce and marriage, gender attitudes, and femininity and masculinity scales. The interaction of gender and married vs. divorced/separated was also examined. Multivariate tests showed no significant main effect of married vs. divorced/separated on gender attitudes and behaviors.

Multivariate tests showed a significant main effect of gender F(12, 184) = 3.57, Pillai's Trace = 0.19, p < .001, η^2_p = .19, where compared to women, men tended to

report more friends with benefits (Men: M = .68; Women: M = .45; p = .05) and one night stands (Men: M = .48; Women: M = .34, p =.04). Men tended to have a more traditional occupation or major (Men: M = -.87; Women: M = -.35; p = .02) and more traditional expectations for dating (Men: M = 1.19; Women: M = .88; p = .02) than women. Comparted to men, women tended to hold more egalitarian gender attitudes (Men: M = 4.29; Women: M = 4.56; p = .001) and more conservative in their intentional to marry and have kids (Men: M = 2.09; Women: M = 1.71; p = .01). The interaction term was also not significant, suggesting men and women did not differ in their gender attitudes and behaviors whether their parents were married or divorced/separated. Because there was no significant main effect of divorced or separated versus intact families on gender attitudes and behavior the first hypothesis was not supported.

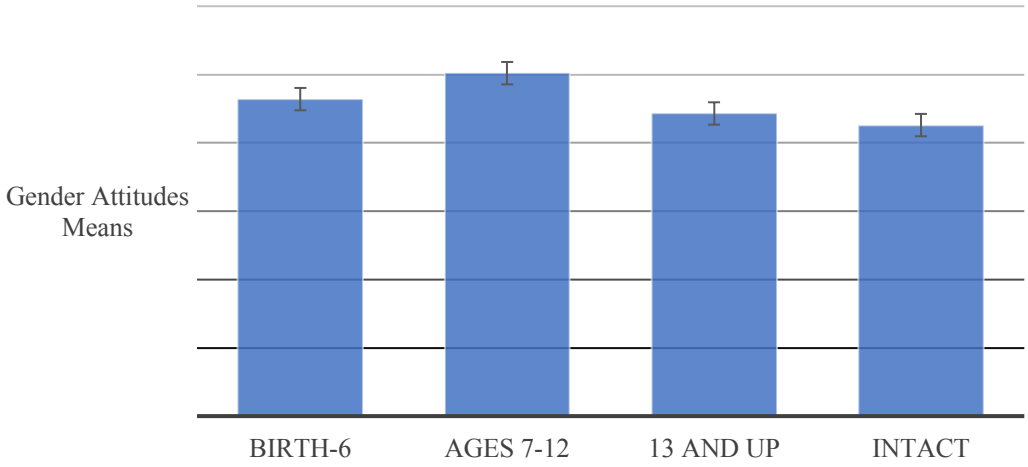
Timing of Divorce on Gender Attitudes/Behavior

To test the second hypothesis regarding the effect of timing of parental divorce on gender attitudes and behaviors, a one-way MANCOVA was conducted where the independent variable entered in the model was timing of divorce (birth- 6 years, 7-12 years, 13 years and up, or intact). The same dependent variables and covariates were entered into the model as hypothesis one. Multivariate tests revealed that timing of divorce was significantly related to gender attitudes and sexual behaviors, $F(12, 181)$ = 2.19, Roy's Largest Root = 0.15, p = .01, η^2_p = .13. Upon further examination, univariate tests showed that gender attitudes were significantly predicted by timing of divorce, $F(3)$ = 5.85, p = .001. As shown in Figure 2, participants whose parents divorced or separated between 7-12 years of age reported more egalitarian attitudes toward gender (M = 5.02) than intact families (M = 4.26; p < .01); none of the other pairwise comparisons between

groups were significant. In addition to gender attitudes, gender behavior, $F(3) = 2.45$, $p = .07$, and femininity attributes, $F(3) = 2.46$, $p = .06$, were marginally related to timing of divorce. Specifically, there was a trend for those whose parents divorced/separated

Figure 2

Timing of Divorce on Gender Attitudes



between birth and 6 years ($M = 0.72$) to report more one night stand relationships during the past year than the 7-12 year age group ($M = 0.13$; $p = .06$). There was also a trend for participants whose parents divorced/separated at 13 years or older to report higher femininity scores ($M = 4.28$) than the other age groups (although pairwise comparisons did not show any significant difference).

Multivariate tests also revealed a significant interaction effect of gender and timing of divorce on divorce attitudes and gender attitudes, $F(36, 543) = 1.44$, Pillai's Trace = 0.26, $p = .05$, $\eta^2_p = .09$. Specifically, this interaction was significantly related to divorce attitudes, $F(3) = 2.63$, $p = .05$, where men whose parents divorced/separated during 7-12 years reported higher pro-divorce attitudes than men from other groups and all women (see Figure 3). Moreover, men whose parents divorced/separated between 7-

12 years reported more egalitarian attitudes toward gender than men from other groups and women overall, $F(3) = 4.22$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 4). Finally, masculinity attributes were significantly related to the interaction of gender and timing of divorce, $F(3) = 2.85$,

Figure 3

Timing of Divorce on Divorce Attitudes

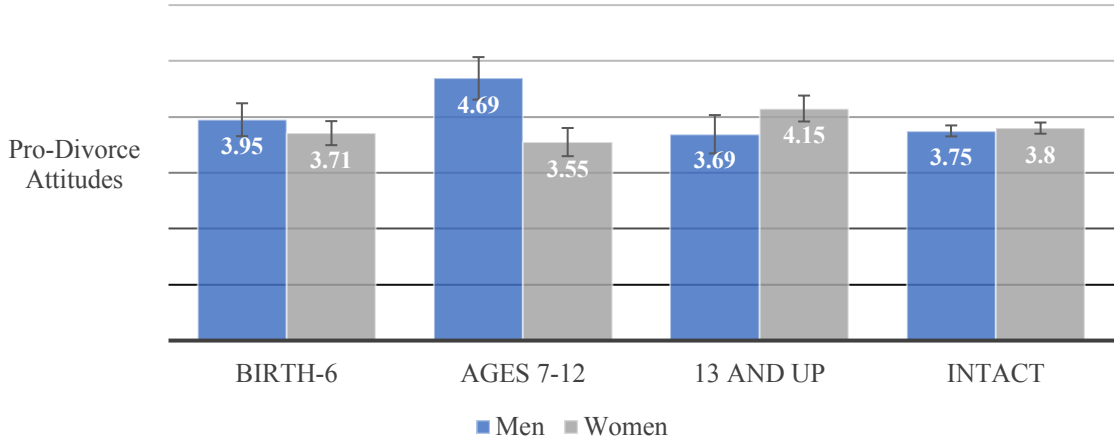
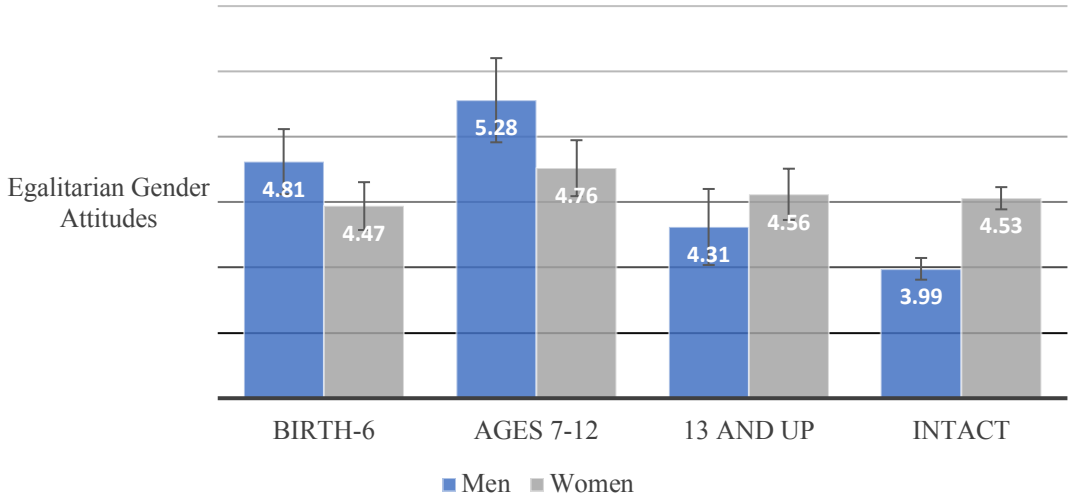


Figure 4

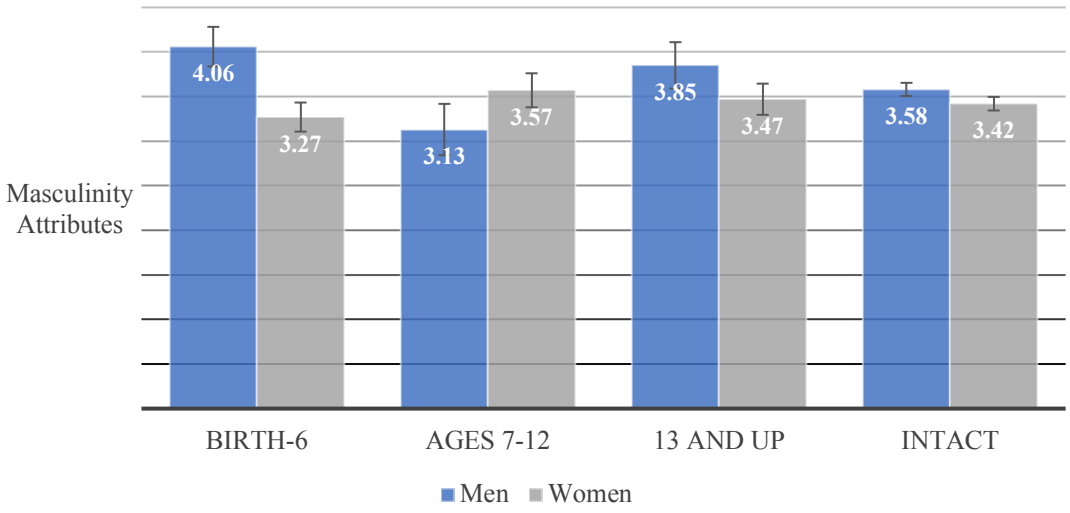
Timing of Divorce on Gender Attitudes by Gender



p = .04, such that men whose parents divorced/separated between birth-6 years reported higher masculinity attributes compared to any other group (see Figure 5). Thus, hypothesis two was partially supported, such that divorce occurrence during latency (7-12 years) predicted more egalitarian and pro-divorce attitudes; however, when separating by gender, timing of divorce was only relevant for men (not women).

Figure 5

Timing of Divorce on Masculinity Attributes



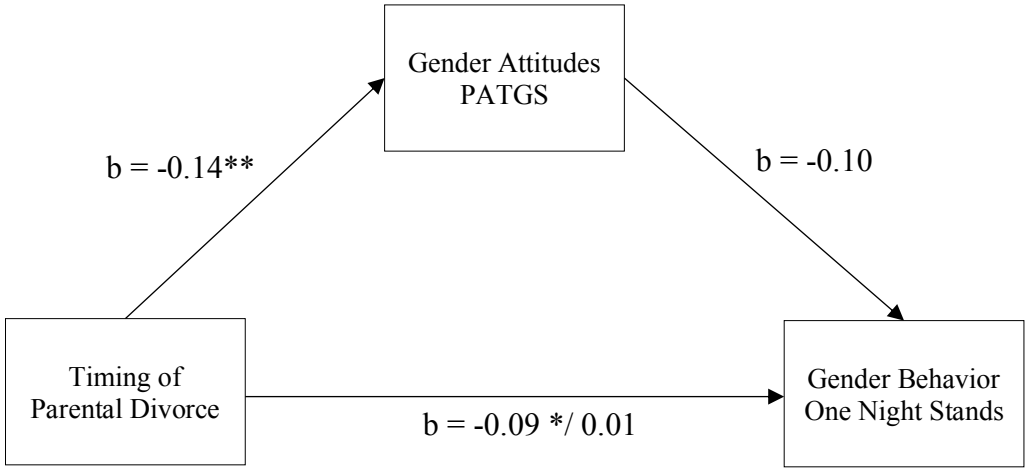
Gender Attitudes Mediation

To assess whether gender attitudes mediated the relationship between timing of parental divorce and gender behavior (Hypothesis 3), a mediational model was conducted through Hayes' (2012) PROCESS Macro under Model 4 with 5,000 bootstrap samples. Timing of divorce was entered as the independent variable (controlling for parent socioeconomic status, relationship status, and gender). Based on the findings from Hypothesis two, only one night stands was significantly related to timing of divorce; therefore, this gender behavior was the only outcome tested for mediation. Gender

attitudes and femininity attributes were entered as the potential mediators (based on the Hypothesis two results) in two separate analyses. When gender attitudes was entered as the mediator, gender attitudes was significantly predicted by timing of divorce, b = -0.14, SE = 0.05, $t(197)$ = -2.74, $p < .01$ (see Figure 6), such that those whose parents divorced when they were young had more egalitarian gender attitudes than those whose parents divorced later. Timing of divorce was marginally significant with one night stands, b = -0.09, SE = 0.05, $t(196)$ = -1.88, p = .06, but gender attitudes was not significantly related to one night stands. Thus, the indirect effect of timing on one night stands through gender attitudes was not significant. There was no direct or indirect relationship of timing of divorce on one night stands through femininity attributes.

Figure 6

The mediating effect of Gender Attitudes on Timing of Divorce and Gender Behavior.



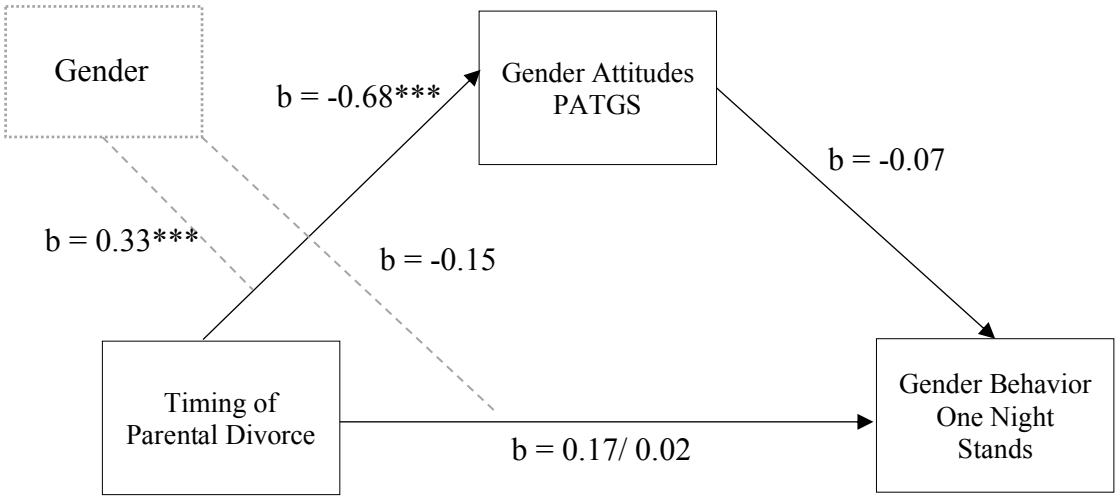
Note. * p < .10 (marginal), **p < .01

Gender Moderated Mediation

Finally, to determine if gender moderated the mediational relationship of gender attitudes on timing of parental divorce and gender behavior (Hypothesis 4), a moderated mediation was performed in Hayes' (2012) PROCESS Macro under Model 8 with 5,000 bootstrap samples. Timing of parental divorce and gender were entered as the independent variable and moderator variable, respectively, in all models, controlling for parent social status and current relationship status. When gender attitudes was entered as the mediator, there was a significant main effect of timing of divorce on gender attitudes, b = -0.68, SE = 0.17, $t(196)$ = -4.02, $p < .001$ (see Figure 7). Although the interaction of gender and timing of divorce was significantly related to egalitarian gender attitudes, b = -0.33, SE = 0.10, $t(196)$ = 3.36, $p < .001$, the indirect effect of timing of divorce on gender behavior was not significantly related, suggesting that a moderated mediation was

Figure 7

Mediating effect of Gender Attitudes on the Timing of Parental Divorce on Gender Behavior as a function of Gender.



Note. *p < .05, ***p < .001

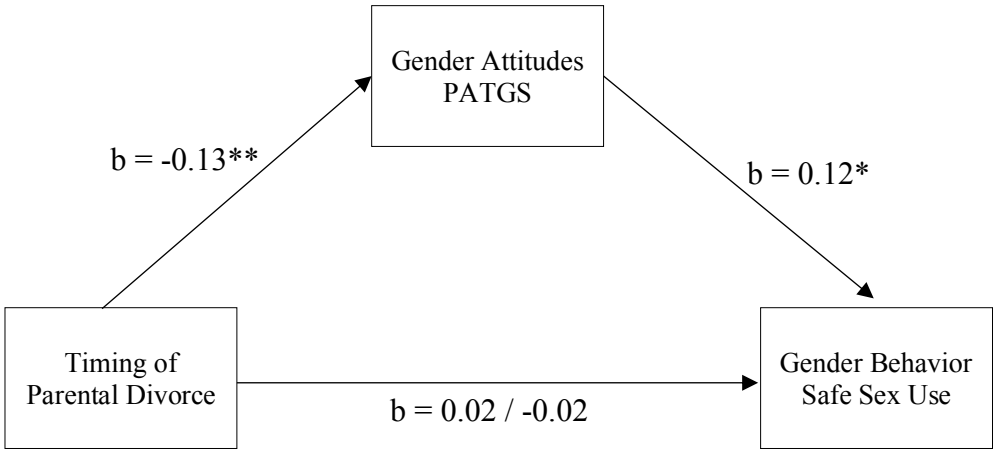
not supported. When the femininity attributes scale was entered as the mediator, there was a significant main effect of timing of divorce, b = -0.29, SE = 0.15, t(196) = -1.99, p = .05; however, the interaction of timing of divorce and gender was not significant. There was no direct effect of timing of divorce and femininity attributes on gender behavior. However, the interaction of gender and timing of divorce on one night stands was significant, b = -0.18, SE = 0.09, t(195) = -1.94, p = .05, where women whose parents divorced between 7 and 12 reported more one night stands compared to women from intact families (p = .01).

Safe Sex – Exploratory Post Hoc Analyses

For exploratory reasons, because one night stands showed some significant results, I was interested in examining whether gender attitudes mediated the relationship between timing of divorce and using safe sex practices. Timing of divorce was entered as

Figure 8

Exploratory Mediation Model. The mediating effect of Gender Attitudes on Timing of Divorce on Gender Behavior



Note. *p < .10, **p < .01

the independent variable, gender attitudes was entered as the mediator, and safe sex was the dependent variable. Parent social status and current relationship status were controlled for in the analyses. There was a significant path between timing of divorce and gender attitudes, $b = -0.13$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(195) = -2.68$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 8). Gender attitudes was also marginally related to safe sex use, $b = 0.12$, $SE = 0.07$, $t(194) = 1.76$, $p = .08$, such that more egalitarian attitudes was marginally related to more safe sex practices. However, there were no direct or indirect effects of timing of divorce on safe sex use. Additionally, there was no evidence that gender moderated this mediational model.

Discussion

The current thesis examined the role of parental divorce on offspring gender attitudes and behaviors, with a specific focus on whether timing of the divorce predicts gender attitudes and behaviors. Four hypotheses were tested to determine whether (1) individuals from divorced families differ from intact families on their gender attitudes and behavior, (2) the timing of divorce (birth-6 years, 7-12 years, 13 years and up) impacts gender attitudes and behaviors, (3) if gender attitudes mediate the relationship between timing of divorce and gender behavior, and (4) whether this mediation is moderated by gender.

Three central points were found in this study. First, the timing of divorce was significant with several gender attitudes and behaviors, suggesting divorce alone might not be play a role in gender development but rather when the divorce occurs. Second, gender interacted with timing of divorce, such that men whose parents divorced between 7 and 12 years of age tended to differ more on their pro-divorce and egalitarian attitudes than other groups. Finally, although there was no support for the proposed mediation or

moderated mediation, one post hoc analysis suggests that gender attitudes may have a role with safe sex use. The implications and future directions of these findings are discussed below.

Divorce and Gender Attitudes

Prior research has suggested that young adults from divorced families possess greater egalitarian attitudes (Kapinus, 2000; Pan, 2014; Slavkin, 2001). To my knowledge, this is the first study to examine the role of timing of parental divorce on gender attitudes and sexual behavior. Although the current study did not find a significant difference between intact families and divorced families on gender attitudes and sexual behaviors, there was evidence that timing of parental divorce was related to these outcomes. Specifically, in support of my hypothesis, those participants whose parents divorced when they were between 7 and 12 years old endorsed greater egalitarian gender attitudes compared to intact families. Although previous research is limited and typically contradictory, these findings are partly supported by one study that found that parental divorce occurring at or before the age of 12 predicted less expectations for marriage in young adulthood (Pan, 2014). There was also a marginal main effect of timing of divorce on more one night stands for participants whose parents divorced between birth and six (primarily for women – discussed below). This finding contradicts Quinlan's (2003) study where parental divorce between 12 and 17 years predicted more sexual promiscuity for women. A marginal effect was also found among timing of parental divorce and femininity scores, where those whose parents divorced at or after the age of 13 marginally predicted more femininity attributes. This finding is somewhat supported by Kiecolt and Acock (1988) who found that children from divorced or separated homes

tend to have more androgynous framing; however, studies looking at specific timings of parental divorce on gender identification has not been extensively studied.

These results suggest that parental divorce in general may not be the driving factor in predicting gender attitudes, but rather *when* the divorce occurs. As proposed in the introduction, I believe that experiencing parental divorce between the ages of 7 and 12 years may be particularly salient for individuals because children are developing their own identities, friendships, self-esteem, and search for independency. Children between 7 and 12 are going through several changes in school, personal interests, and close relationships, where divorce could predict how they perceive and relate to these changes. In other words, the saliency during this time due to ongoing changes might influence children of divorce to develop more egalitarian attitudes as young adults. In Erikson's stages of psychosocial development, the latency period is where children build their self-confidence because they are more aware of themselves; they are trying to be good and do the right thing through responsibilities and cooperation. If mom and dad separate during this period, resulting in two households for example, children might form attitudes that mom and do what dad does and dad can do what mom does. One potential future direction would be to look at the effect of parental timing on gender attitudes and behaviors as children grow into young adulthood, and whether gender attitudes of the primary custody parent mediates this relationship.

Gender Differences in Timing of Divorce

In addition to the overall main effect of timing of parental divorce on gender attitudes and behaviors, there was also evidence of an interaction with gender. Specifically, men whose parents divorced during latency (7-12 years) reported greater

pro-divorce attitudes and more egalitarian gender attitudes than men from other groups. No such trend was found for women. Thus, men who encounter a parental divorce or separation between 7 and 12 year might be more sensitive to the shift in family structure during this period. As Palosaari and Aro (1994) suggest, boys might have a stronger attachment to the father, and in typical divorce households, the father tends to leave the house; as previous research suggests, divorced families tend to be hold more nontraditional and more egalitarian attitudes and headed by mothers more often than fathers (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Fagot, Leinbach, & O'Boyle, 1992; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988).

Another explanation could be that because children during this period begin to form a sense of identity and their attitudes are still malleable, the separation might affect boys more than girls because of cross-sex gender roles being presented. For example, spending the week at mom's house where he sees mom working full time or doing yard work then going to dad's house on the weekend who cooks and cleans, might impact the child's way of thinking. This is more so for boys because girls tend to be more egalitarian regardless, and seeing parents perform opposite-sex roles in the home could influence boys' perception stronger. This shift in family dynamics could influence boys to present more egalitarian attitudes and behaviors later in life as compared to girls, who tend to be more egalitarian regardless of family structure. Another future direction could be examining the effect of cross-gender parent and child, such that boys might have more egalitarian attitudes when living with mom than dad, and similar for girls living with either mom or dad.

For women, there was some limited evidence that parental divorce occurring between 7 and 12 years predicted more one night stands. This finding is opposite of Quinlan's (2003) study where women tend to be more sexually promiscuous when divorce occurred between 12 and 17 years. Given that this interaction was only found in the test of the moderated mediation, replication is needed to determine the stability of the finding. However, if corroborated in future research, it would suggest that the timing of divorce on women's sexual behaviors is more complicated and potentially moderated by other factors (e.g., parental promiscuity).

Mediational Model

The mediational effect of gender attitudes on timing of divorce and gender behavior was not significant and gender as a moderator of the mediational model was also not significant. As an exploratory *post hoc* analysis, safe sex practice was examined. Though the mediation was not statistically significant, the pathways from timing of divorce on gender attitudes and gender attitudes on safe sex practice were significant. Future research would need to replicate and expand on this post hoc analysis to determine whether safe sex practice is predicted by timing of parental divorce and whether egalitarian or traditional attitudes mediate this association differently for men and women.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study attempted to fill in gaps of previous research, but support for my hypotheses was sparse. The innovation of this research was the focus on timing of divorce and gender attitudes/behaviors in young adult offspring. Limitations to the current study should be noted. Small cell sizes were observed among the timing of

divorce groups, and even more so when separating by gender, which affected the power to find significant effects in the study. The sample consisted mostly of college students, which might have influenced the data because college students typically tend to be more egalitarian than other populations. Although there were a subset of participants (around 40) who were not students, geographic region might have impacted their results in that participants might differ cross-culturally in their gender behavior and attitudes. Relative to cross-cultural implications, about half of the participants in the study were White, which could have implications on the outcomes of the study variables. Divorce is common in the United States however the occurrence of divorce could vary between racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. Race or ethnicity might also have an impact gender attitudes and behavior.

Equal numbers of married and divorced groups might help in determining the effect parental divorce has on offspring gender attitudes and behaviors. Although some significances were found for gender behavior (e.g., safe sex and one night stands), a better measure of gender behavior is also needed to determine if there are stronger effects of parental divorce. Gender attitudes has been studied in previous research and is supported in the current study; however, gender behavior has not been extensively studied and should be taken into account for future studies. This aspect of gender is important to study because although gender attitudes may remain stable throughout the adult life course, gender behaviors may change situation-to-situation (e.g. college student versus married individuals).

Future research should examine the parents' gender attitudes and behavior and how they might interact or mediate the relationships between timing and gender attitudes

or behavior in young adult offspring. Parental influences might mediate the relationship between timing of divorce and children's gender outcomes, as parents have a strong influence on their children's ideologies and beliefs. Moreover, the primary custody parent may have a stronger influence not only on children's gender attitudes but their gender behaviors as children may be more likely to model what they see their primary custody parent doing (e.g., many one night stands or mom dating over a period of time with different individuals vs. a long-term committed relationship). Finally, a longitudinal design would be beneficial to view the effects before, during, and after parental divorce in terms of gender attitudes and behavior. A longitudinal study might help understand transitional periods (i.e., college, marriage) and how parental divorce predicts how we perceive gender expectations during these transitions.

Conclusion

The current thesis study addressed whether parental divorce predicts gender attitudes and behaviors, and whether the timing of that divorce impacts young adult offspring. Three important messages were taken from this paper. First, the timing of divorce significantly predicted more egalitarian gender attitudes when divorce occurred between the ages of 7-12 for males, suggesting divorce during latency predicts more egalitarian beliefs than any other time period or from intact families. Second, the impact of timing of divorce is stronger for men than women. Finally, women from divorced families tend to report more one night stand relationships and men from divorced families tend to report lower use of safe sex practices, suggesting an interaction of gender and gendered behavior in young adulthood. These findings were limited by low power due to small sample sizes in cells, especially when divided by gender. Future research would

with larger sample sizes would be needed to confirm these results. In conclusion, these findings delve into how parental divorce timing predicts young adult offspring in their beliefs and behaviors relating to gender norms and expectations.

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APPENDIX A

MEASURES USED IN STUDY

Sociodemographic/ Covariate Questions

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
    a. Male b. Female c. Other_____
3. What is your sexual orientation?
    a. Heterosexual b. Homosexual c. Bisexual d. Other_____
4. What is your race or ethnicity?
    a. White b. Black c. Hispanic or Latino d. Asian e. Native American e. Other_____
5. What do you think is your parents' social class?
    a. Lower class b. Upper-lower c. Middle class d. Upper-middle e. Upper class
6. What year are you in college?
    a. First b. Second c. Third d. Fourth e. Fifth or higher
7. How religious would you say you are?
    1. Not at all religious….2….3….4….Neutral…6….7….8….9…Extremely religious

Parental Divorce Occurrence and Timing- Open-ended Questions

1. Are your parents currently married?
2. If your parents are still married, how happy would you rate your parents' marriage to be on a scale from 0 to 10?

    0= Very happy 10= Extremely unhappy
3. Have your parents ever been divorced?
    a. How old were you when your parents divorced?
4. If you said your parents have been divorced, when your parents were still married, how happy did you believe they were in their marriage on a scale from 0 to 10?

    0= Very Happy 10=Not at all happy
5. Who did you predominately live with following the divorce?
    a. Mom b. Dad c. Even split
6. What was the time split with your parents following divorce?
    Mom: __% Dad: __%
7. Who initiated the divorce?
    a. Mom b. Dad c. Mutual d. Not sure
8. Have your parents ever been separated?
    a. If so, at what age did your parents separate?
    b. How many times have your parents separated?
    c. How long were each separation?
    d. Did the separation end in divorce?
    e. How old were you at each separation?

9. Did your parents ever remarry?
    a. At what age were you when your parents remarried?
    b. How long were your parents separated until they remarried?
    c. Did the remarriage end in a separation or divorce?

Gendered Behavior- Open-Ended Questions

1. How many romantic relationships have you been involved in the past year?
2. How many 'friends with benefits' (a friend with whom you have sexual relations with without a romantic or committed relationship) have you been involved with in the past year?
3. How many 'one-night-stand' relationships have you experienced in the past year?
4. How often do you practice safe sex (condoms/birth control)?
    a. Never use.. b. Sometimes use.. c. Always use
5. Are you currently married or engaged?
6. Have you ever been divorced?
7. If you are in college, what is your current college major?
8. What is your current occupation or what occupation do you wish to obtain after college?
9. Do you plan on getting married?
10. Do you plan on having children?
11. Do you want to be married before you have children?

Scale Questions

1. On a scale from 1 to 10, how bitter or hostile was the divorce between your parents where 1 is extremely bitter/hostile to 10 is not at all bitter/hostile?

1. Extremely bitter/hostile….2….3….4.....Neutral….6….7….8….9…..Not at all bitter/hostile

2. In a heterosexual relationship, whose responsibility is it to ask someone out on a date?
    a. Man b. Woman c. Whoever did the asking d. Either
3. In a heterosexual relationship, who is expected to pay on the first date?
    a. Man b. Woman c. Whoever did the asking d. Either
4. Who is expected to drive on the first date?
    a. Man b. Woman c. Whoever did the asking d. Either
5. When or if you get married, do you plan to be employed outside of the home full time, part time, or not employed?
    a. Full time b. Part time c. Not employed d. Whatever my partner wants e. Whichever is financially beneficial
6. When or if you have children, do you plan to be employed outside of the home full time, part time, or not employed?
    a. Full time b. Part time c. Not employed d. Whatever my partner wants e. Whichever is financially beneficial

Parental Bonding Instrument
(Parker, Tupling, & Brown, 1979)

MOTHER FORM

This questionnaire lists various attitudes and behaviors of parents. As you remember your MOTHER in your first 16 years check the most appropriate box next to each question.

	A Lot	Some	A Little	Not at all
1. Spoke to me in a warm and friendly voice				
2. Did not help me as much as I needed				
3. Let me do those things I liked doing				
4. Seemed emotionally cold to me				
5. Appeared to understand my problems and worries				
6. Was affectionate to me				
7. Liked me to make my own decisions				
8. Did not want me to grow up				
9. Tried to control everything I did				
10. Invaded my privacy				
11. Enjoyed talking things over with me				
12. Frequently smiled at me				
13. Tended to baby me				
14. Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted				
15. Let me decide things for myself				
16. Made me feel I wasn't wanted				
17. Could make me feel better when I was upset				
18. Did not talk with me very much				
19. Tried to make me feel dependent on her/him				

20. Felt I could not look after myself unless she/he was around				
21. Gave me as much freedom as I wanted				
22. Let me go out as often as I wanted				
23. Was overprotective of me				
24. Did not praise me				
25. Let me dress in any way I pleased				

FATHER FORM

This questionnaire lists various attitudes and behaviors of parents. As you remember your FATHER in your first 16 years check the most appropriate box next to each question.

	A Lot	Some	A Little	Not at all
Spoke to me in a warm and friendly voice				
2. Did not help me as much as I needed				
3. Let me do those things I liked doing				
4. Seemed emotionally cold to me				
5. Appeared to understand my problems and worries				
6. Was affectionate to me				
7. Liked me to make my own decisions				
8. Did not want me to grow up				
9. Tried to control everything I did				
10. Invaded my privacy				
11. Enjoyed talking things over with me				
12. Frequently smiled at me				
13. Tended to baby me				
14. Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted				

15. Let me decide things for myself				
16. Made me feel I wasn't wanted				
17. Could make me feel better when I was upset				
18. Did not talk with me very much				
19. Tried to make me feel dependent on her/him				
20. Felt I could not look after myself unless she/he was around				
21. Gave me as much freedom as I wanted				
22. Let me go out as often as I wanted				
23. Was overprotective of me				
24. Did not praise me				
25. Let me dress in any way I pleased				

Personal Attributes Questionnaire
(Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974)

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each items consists of a pair of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example:

Not at all Artistic	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very Artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics--that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where you fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth.

	A	B	C	D	E	
1. Not at all aggressive						Very aggressive
2. Not at all Independent	○	○	○	○	○	Very independent
3. Not at all emotional	○	○	○	○	○	Very emotional
4. Very submissisve	○	○	○	○	○	Very dominant
5. Not at all excitable in a major	○	○	○	○	○	Very excitable in a major
6. Very passive	○	○	○	○	○	Very active
7. Not at all able to devote self	○	○	○	○	○	Able to devote self completely
8. Very rough	○	○	○	○	○	Very gentle
9. Not at all helpful to others	○	○	○	○	○	Very helpful to others
10. Not at all competitive	○	○	○	○	○	Very competitive
11. Very home oriented	○	○	○	○	○	Very worldly
12. Not at all kind	○	○	○	○	○	Very kind
13. Indifferent to others approval	○	○	○	○	○	Highly needful of others
14. Feelings not easily hurt	○	○	○	○	○	Feelings easily hurt
15. Not at all aware of feelings of others	○	○	○	○	○	Very aware of feelings of others
16. Can make decisions easily						Has difficulty making
17. Gives up very easily	○	○	○	○	○	Never gives up easily
18. Never cries	○	○	○	○	○	Cries very easily
19. Not at all self-confident	○	○	○	○	○	Very self-confident
20. Feels very inferior	○	○	○	○	○	Feels superior
21. Not at all understanding of	○	○	○	○	○	Very understanding of
22. Very cold in relations with						Very warm in relations with
23. Very little time for security	○	○	○	○	○	Very strong need for security
24. Goes to pieces under pressure	○	○	○	○	○	Stands up well under

The Pacific Attitudes Towards Gender Scale

(Vaillancourt, & Leaper, 1997)

People have different opinions about desirable roles for girls and boys and for women and men. For each of the following statements, you will be asked to select the option that best reflects your opinion.

Ratings:

Strongly Disagree Mostly Disagree Slightly Disagree Slightly Agree Mostly Agree Strongly Agree

1. I believe it is better for a daycare or a preschool teacher to be a woman than to be a man
2. I believe the husband should have primary responsibility for the financial support of the family
3. I believe using obscene language is worse for a girl than for a boy
4. I believe women are too easily offended by certain jokes.
5. I believe feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men
6. I believe only men should be allowed to engage in military combat
7. I believe a man should be expected to pay the expenses on a date with a woman
8. I believe sexual harassment is a serious problem in the workplace
9. I believe it should be equally acceptable for girls and boys to play rough sports like soccer or rugby
10. I believe it is all right for a woman to take the first steps to start a relationship with a man
11. I believe a woman employed outside of the home can establish as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who is not employed outside the home
12. I believe discrimination against women in the labor force is no longer a problem
13. I believe it should be equally acceptable for a man or a woman to stay home and care for the children while the other spouse works
14. I believe feminists exaggerate problems faced by women in today's society
15. I believe it should be equally acceptable for women and men to have sex with casual acquaintances
16. I believe it is wrong for boys to play with dolls
17. I believe a woman should be careful not to appear smarter than the man she is dating
18. I believe there are certain jobs that are inappropriate for women
19. I believe girls should have greater limits placed on them than boys when they go out of the house
20. I believe that many women in the paid workforce are taking jobs away from men who need the jobs more

21. I believe that when men show special courtesies only to women (like holding open the door), it reinforces the stereotype that women are helpless
22. I believe it is more difficult to work for a woman than a man
23. I believe men and women should be able to make choices about their lives without
    being restricted by their gender
24. I believe women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men
25. I believe it should be equally acceptable for men and women to cry in front of other people
26. I believe when both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother first rather than the father
27. I believe it should be equally acceptable for a woman to go to a bar alone as it is for a man
28. I believe society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunity for achievement

Attitudes Toward Divorce Scale
(Kinnard & Gerrard, 1986)

Please respond to each of the following statements by circling the appropriate rating on each scale

1) *– Not at all 2 – A little 3 – Somewhat 4 – A lot 5 – Very Much*

1) When people marry, they should be willing to stay together no matter what happens.	1 2 3 4 5
2) If people are not happy in their marriage, they owe it to themselves to get a divorce and try to improve their lives.	1 2 3 4 5
3) The marriage vow "till death do us part" represents a sacred commitment to another person and should not be taken lightly.	1 2 3 4 5
4) The negative effects of divorce on children have been greatly exaggerated.	1 2 3 4 5
5) In the long run, American society will be seriously harmed by the high divorce rate.	1 2 3 4 5
6) Many people that get divorced are too weak to make personal sacrifices for the good of their families.	1 2 3 4 5
7) People should feel no great obligation to remain married if they are not satisfied.	1 2 3 4 5
8) Even if people are unhappy with their marriage, they should stay together and try to improve it.	1 2 3 4 5
9) These days, the marriage vow "till death do us part" is just a formality. It doesn't really mean that people should stay in an unsatisfactory marriage.	1 2 3 4 5
10) Most children of divorced parents experience negative effects of divorce for the rest of their lives.	1 2 3 4 5
11) The fact that most individuals no longer feel that they have to stay in unhappy marital relationships will benefit society.	1 2 3 4 5
12) Most people who get divorced do so as a last resort, only after trying other solutions to the problems in their marriage.	1 2 3 4 5

Attitudes Toward Marriage Scale
(Kinnard & Gerrard, 1986)

Please respond to each of the following statements by circling the appropriate rating on each scale

1 – Not at all 2 – A little 3 – Somewhat 4 – A lot 5 – Very Much

1) If you were to marry, to what extent would you miss the life you had as a single person?	1 2 3 4 5
2) How difficult would it be for you to give up your personal freedom if you were married?	1 2 3 4 5
3) How difficult would it be for you to adjust to married life?	1 2 3 4 5
4) Do you ever have doubts about whether you would enjoy living exclusively with one person after marriage?	1 2 3 4 5
5) Do you think you would enjoy the responsibilities of marriage?	1 2 3 4 5
6) If you marry, how happy do you think you will be?	1 2 3 4 5
7) Do you ever think that you may not have a successful marriage?	1 2 3 4 5
8) Do you ever think you will find someone who would be a good marriage partner?	1 2 3 4 5
9) Do you ever think that you should stay single?	1 2 3 4 5
10) Do you ever worry that the person you marry wouldn't fulfill his/her responsibilities in the marriage?	1 2 3 4 5
11) Do you ever worry that the person you marry would be violent or abusive to you?	1 2 3 4 5
12) I believe marriage is one of the most important things in life.	1 2 3 4 5
13) A bad marriage is better than no marriage at all.	1 2 3 4 5
14) A person isn't really grown up until he/she gets married.	1 2 3 4 5